The COMMONWEAL

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Neglected Weapons

DISSATISFACTION with the way the war is going continues to elicit a string of amateur suggestions about the second front, cargo planes, revolts in occupied lands, stepping up production, concentration of our forces and the like. The great public conceives of the war exclusively in terms of planes, tanks, ships and guns. We have our Bureau of Psychological Warfare and our Office of War Information, but up to now we have woefully neglected what is potentially one of our strongest weapons.

First returns from current primaries reveal that political candidates attacked as pre-Pearl Harbor isolationists have been successful nearly all along the line in such widely scattered states as New York, Ohio and Idaho. This is only the latest indication of popular restiveness. One of the things most sorely needed is a more definite formulation of war aims, the more tangible the better. It should have been played up far more forcibly that the four great wheat producers except Russia (Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United States), and Great Britain, the world's largest wheat buyer, have agreed to set aside a relief reserve of 100,000,000 bushels. If this is followed up by similar reserves of other essential products for immediate distribution in needy lands upon the cessation of hostilities, and the program is nationally publicized and dramatized to the fullest extent, the American people will come closer to realizing what positive values we are fighting for.

Important as it is to build up American morale in this epochal struggle, it is even more vital at this stage to undermine that of the enemy. For in the long run American morale will hold up. Japan is one problem, Germany another. Let us for the moment confine ourselves to the latter. Latest reports from inside Germany disclose morale there to be at a new low ebb despite current victories in Russia. Living conditions are badly deteriorating, casualties are mounting. Yet the Germans feel they must fight on or be massacred by the various peoples they have defeated and despoiled. Their dilemma is to win with the nazis or face the most horrible extinction. What better weapon could we forge, then, than to present them with another, a really desirable alternative? We should begin right now an ever more intense campaign to separate the German people from their nazi masters. And we should not let up.

Involved in this campaign is much more than a general announcement and continued reiteration of specific war aims, important as that would be. For the problem is to induce the growing realization among the German people that peace without a Hitler victory will see them better off. What could be more effective than to make known to these hard-pressed people that food and clothing and medicine in vast quantities are being stored for distribution among them upon the conclusion of hostilities, that shipments were already being made to other needy peoples? To keep before them the solemn promise that not Germany as a whole but the responsible nazi leaders alone were to be punished for having loosed such misery upon the world would be another component part of such a campaign. So, too, the constant reminder of our growing might. In short, it is vital now for full effectiveness to accompany our growing accumulation of material weapons by publication of a substantial program of immediate and ultimate war aims. More and more of the unhappy German people are listening to the forbidden foreign broadcasts, while leaflets from the skies are now a comparatively easy matter. Indoctrination would not be an insuperable task.

In these discouraging days, when America's war efforts are undergoing such vigorous democratic self-criticism, let us look also to our psychological weapons. For all our sins and our reluctance to tackle solutions we have the case that will stand the scrutiny of the common man. Let us clearly formulate it and present it forcefully and continually for all to see—first America, then our allies and our adversaries. In our struggle against such ruthless might it is criminal to neglect so powerful a weapon.

Is It Non-Violence?

THE DAILY PRESS is filled with comment on the Indian situation, most of it bitterly opposed to Gandhi and the All-India Congress, whose cause has had so considerable a following

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in this country. The most devastating gibe is that by their action they have betrayed the cause of the United Nations, if not of the common man. The All-India Congress is, of course, a large articulate minority, not the representative of the Indian masses as a whole. Yet if popular unrest should increase, can we blame the people of India for failing to appreciate their bond with the rest of suffering humanity? The depressed classes have for years been exploited by both native and English overlords; what social progress there was has been slow and painful. India is hopelessly divided on religious grounds and the poverty of its people is the most appalling in the world. The problem in India is manifold. Can we rightly expect the Indian people to rise at this juncture above their own deep troubles in the interest of their fellow men of the United Nations?

The Gandhi technique of political action has long been known by the catchword of "non-violence" and as such has won the strongest admiration in the West. Even in times when a powerful invader was not lurking at the gates, such a term would seem to be a misnomer. For regardless of the form which Gandhi's action took—a personal fast or the stirring up of popular refusal to buy English cotton goods, for instance—it resulted in considerable violence on the part of a number of people. The havoc it created among the weavers of Lancashire was tremendous. Even so, fighting the British with these weapons of his own choosing was undoubtedly preferable to Gandhi's loosing outright an armed revolt and widespread, useless bloodshed. In this present instance to launch a campaign of civil disobedience unless India be granted immediate independence is one of the most violent steps imaginable. It is tantamount to a direct invitation to Japan to come in and take the country over. For the British to refuse eleventh hour negotiations would also seem to be a grave mistake. And it must always be kept in mind that Britain has failed to bring forward an acceptable answer to India's long-sought aspirations to independence. But it is difficult to see how the Gandhi technique of non-violence, passive resistance and civil disobedience can now—even mistakenly—be regarded as a spiritual principle of a higher order.

Getting in the Crops

IN OUR PART of the country, which is necessarily New York, housewives hear a constant complaint from their hucksters and fruiterers when they themselves complain at the untoward prices of fresh vegetables and fruit. It runs along the same lines all over the metropolitan area—and we feel sure that almost the same words are being daily and endlessly repeated from coast to coast. "We have to charge more because the farmer has to get more, and he has to get more because he has to pay more to his help." A few weeks ago we published an article by Lyle W. Cooper on the question on the farm labor shortage. Mr. Cooper pointed to a number of very pertinent facts, which we are all too likely to forget. He insisted that there is not at present any serious labor shortage on the farms, but that the increased productivity ordained by the Department of Agriculture coupled with some reduction in the quantity of available farm labor had put agricultural workers in a better bargaining position and had indeed forced up the level of wages. Particularly is this true of wages for migratory workers, who harvest the garden crops of our country. A specific case: for years the general rate paid for picking stringbeans in our part of the United States has been somewhere around ten cents a bushel; it is now as high as thirty-five. So Joe the Greek is right enough: the housewife has to pay more for beans because John Doe gets more for picking them. Moreover, in each specific case Americans are likely to agree that the pay agricultural workers used to get was mighty little and that the pay agricultural workers are now getting is none too much. But what of the future? Next week we are publishing another article on the same subject by a writer who has access to the latest official figures of the Department of Agriculture. There is perhaps no labor shortage on the farms this year—at least not too serious a shortage. But the general prognostication is that next year the situation will be very different. Next year, unless the problem is solved, crops will rot in the fields indeed, and not in patches as they have rotted this year.

A casual item catches a reader's eye in a daily newspaper. A group of city boys has gone out into the country and its members have secured jobs on farms. "Some of them didn't like it at first and five [out of eighteen] displayed their displeasure by quitting within the first three weeks. . . . One of those who remained said frankly that, despite early forebodings, he is 'puting in the best summer of my life.'" There has been a lot of talk this spring and summer about projects of this sort. Magazines have shown pictures of shapely girls operating tractors, picking strawberries, and what have you. Certainly there has been a great increase in this kind of youth migration from city to country. But would it not be well for the government to consider whether the movement should end there? In this experiment on a small scale do there not lie the germs of at least one possible solution to the seasonal labor problems of agriculture?

There is plenty of precedent for this solution. There are the echoes of Cockney hop-pickers from generation to generation in the English countryside, and as we remember it in days long gone, the Lyons silk workers used to divide their

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time between factory and field as the life cycle of the silk worm demanded. And there is a final good reason for particularly encouraging youth to spend some of its free time on the farm. One of the great losses inflicted upon a society by industrialism is the loss of general education in the primary skills of life. It is appalling to think of what happens to a great urban community when its citizens are thrown back upon their own resources to supply the most primitive needs of their existence. Especially is this true in our own country, where it has been an important function of business enterprise to replace with objects mass produced the thousand things formerly family produced. A whole urban generation in America probably wouldn't know how to make soup or plant a hill of corn if its life depended on it. The demands of a country at war give some faint promise of remedying this helplessness, and certainly this should be no minor consideration in laying the plans to meet what we are assured will next year be a farm labor shortage in earnest.

Art and Discretion

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS we have referred to the competition for a statue of Christ the Light of the World being conducted by the Liturgical Arts Society for the National Catholic Welfare Conference. This statue—to be fifteen feet high and in bronze when completed—is to adorn the façade of the new NCWC headquarters building in Washington, D. C. Two or three weeks ago the distinguished jury selected to judge this competition met in Washington and made public its findings. Thanks to the enterprise of a reporter on the Washington *Times Herald,* the jury's decision immediately raised a storm of protest. This reporter busied herself interviewing a number of the national capital's more prominent clergymen, and reproduced their opinions at length in a signed article in her paper. This was followed up by one of the clergymen she quoted—Father John K. Cartwright—writing an article on the subject for the Baltimore *Catholic Review,* and this same paper publishing an editorial substantially agreeing with Father Cartwright. Both article and editorial have been reproduced in other Catholic weeklies, thus giving the controversy more than local significance.

We do not propose to rush to the defense of the three sculptors given provisional first awards by the competition jury. The jury deliberately did not select from among these three artists, but chose all three equally, inviting them to redesign their models for a final decision in October. Moreover, all we ourselves have seen of the winning models is the photographs which appeared in the daily press—not the models themselves. We feel, however, that the storm aroused by the jury's decision requires some comment, for it involves the whole question of American and Catholic taste in art.

Certainly the reverend gentlemen who criticize the jury's choice have every right to do so, but they should base their criticisms upon sound criteria. First of all, no serious criticism of sculpture should ever be made from photographs, and only a person of long and qualified experience should make such criticism from small scale models. To have rushed into print in this controversy points to a lack of artistic understanding on the part of men who should know better.

Another indication of the state of art appreciation in this country is given by Father Cartwright's repeated mistake in the material in which these models are finally to be executed—bronze. He refers in one case to "marble" and in another case to "stone." The very fact that he could repeatedly overlook the real medium intended shows how little he knows of the limitations which a scrulptor must take into account in his design. But the real give-away of what is at the bottom of much passionate feeling with regard to modern art lies in Father Cartwright's explicit relations of these designs, which he calls modern, to revolutionary propaganda. He gives no indication of realizing that both to Moscow and to Berlin the kind of art which he calls "an intrusion of proletarianism" is tabu, decadent and bourgeois. Both Moscow and Berlin have turned back to the very Renaissance one suspects is Father Cartwright's ideal in their search for an "official" art. And the "modern" which he finds so revolutionary has its historic prototypes in the formalism and rhythmic patterning of ages of Christian faith—the ages of Gothic and Byzantine vitality. One can only regret the general lack of historical knowledge and the willingness to rush in where angels fear to tread so acutely made evident in this minor tempest.

N. B.

AS A RESULT of considerable agitation in which a recent article and editorials in THE COMMONWEAL played their part, Chinese seamen have been permitted shore leave in New York City. At first the authorities insisted that local Chinese consular officials assume complete responsibility for the men and guarantee their return to their ships. When the consuls refused this impossible proviso, it was somewhat modified, at least in practice. The Chinese consuls agreed to impress upon the men that they must be available for service if required and that they would be liable to arrest and deportation should they overstay their leaves. As a further preventive against their jumping ship their wages have been doubled (to $80 a month)

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In the Face of the World's Crisis

IN THE MANIFESTO* to which the major part of this issue of THE COMMONWEAL is devoted, and the main text of which begins on the facing page, a certain number of European Catholics sojourning in Canada and the United States set forth the reasons for their attitude toward the war and the present crisis of civilization. The importance of this document springs from the principles which it elucidates and the moral authority of the personages who have signified their adherence to it. These men and women belong to many different nations and their fields of activity are also highly diversified. The unanimity which links together these varied representatives of Catholic thought, with regard to the fundamental positions and the fundamental obligations which they hold necessary for our day, is all the more impressive.

Among the signatories of the manifesto we make public the names of the following:

GEORGES THEUNIS, *former Prime Minister of Belgium, Minister of State.*

PAUL VAN ZEELAND, *former Prime Minister of Belgium.*

FRANS J. VAN CAUWELAERT, *President of the Belgian House of Representatives, Minister of State.*

HENRI DE KÉRILLIS, *Member of the French Chamber of Deputies.*

JOSÉ ANTONIO DE AGUIRRE, *President of the Basques.*

L. A. H. PETERS, *Attaché of the Netherlands Embassy.*

STEFAN DE ROPP, *Director of the Polish Information Center in New York.*

GUIDO ZERNATTO, *former Austrian Minister.*

Priests and Religious:

Don LUIGI STURZO, *founder of the Italian Popular Party (Christian Democracy).*

Monsignor P. J. DE STRYCKER, *Professor at the University of Louvain.*

Monsignor EDWARD HAWKS, *Spiritual Director of the Catholic Evidence Guild, Philadelphia.*

The Reverend J. T. DELOS, O.P., *Professor at the Catholic Institute of Lille and of the School of Social Sciences of Laval University (Quebec); member of the International Institute of Philosophy, Law and Political Sociology.*

The Reverend J. V. DUCATTILLON, O.P., *Professor at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (New York).*

The Reverend M. A. COUTURIER, O.P., *Professor at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (New York), and at Notre Dame College (Baltimore).*

The Reverend THOMAS MICHELS, O.S.B., *former Professor of the Faculty of Theology at Salzburg, Austria, presently Professor at Saint Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vermont.*

The Reverend NICHOLAS HIGGINS, O.F.M.Cap.

The Reverend H. J. A. KOEVOETS, S.C.J.

The Reverend PETER MOMMERSTEEG, *Diocesan Director of the Dutch Catholic Youth Movement.*

The Reverend JOHANNES OESTERREICHER.

The Reverend CHARLES O. VON SODEN.

Representatives of the Arts and Letters:

SIGRID UNDSET
RAÏSSA MARITAIN
HELEN ISWOLSKY
SIR PHILIP GIBBS
ALFRED NOYES
JOEP NICOLAS
CHARLES BOYER
FRANK SHEED
AUREL KOLNAI
ANDRÉ DAVID
OTTO MICHAEL KNAB

Professors, Scientists and Philosophers:

OSCAR HALECKI, *Professor at the University of Warsaw, member of the Polish Academy, and corresponding member of the Institut de France.*

HUGH S. TAYLOR, *Professor at Princeton University, member of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences.*

AUGUSTE VIATTE, *Professor in the Faculty of Letters at Laval University (Quebec).*

JACQUES MARITAIN, *Professor at the Institut Catholique of Paris, Vice-President of the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (New York), Visiting Professor at Columbia University.*

DIETRICH VON HILDEBRAND, *formerly Professor at the University of Vienna, presently Professor at Fordham University.*

WALDEMAR GURIAN, *Professor at Notre Dame University (Indiana) and Editor of* The Review of Politics.

EVA J. ROSS, *Professor at Trinity College, Washington, D. C.*

YVES SIMON, *Professor at Notre Dame University (Indiana).*

RENÉ DE MESSIÈRES, *Professor at Wellesley College (Massachusetts).*

E. HULA, *Professor at the New School for Social Research (New York).*

BAUDOUIN SCHWARZ, *formerly Professor in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Freiburg (Switzerland), presently Professor at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart (New York).*

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In the Face of the World's Crisis

A manifesto by European Catholics sojourning in America.

The signers of this manifesto are Catholics from Europe who are presently engaged in the New World in their activities on a spiritual or intellectual level. The point of view they here take is independent of all partisan affiliation. They know that the war at present being fought confronts Christians with grave problems and duties, and that, aside from their personal opinions on more particular matters, it is possible to formulate in common certain fundamental principles.

I TOTALITARIANISM AND ITS THREAT TO CIVILIZATION

I The universal crisis, whereof war is merely the culminating paroxysm, represents *the most dire threat ever to have menaced a civilization of free men. This threat has been given a name: Totalitarianism.*

Totalitarianism, apart from certain externals, holds nothing in common with the régimes based on authority which Christian peoples have known in the past. It is something even lower than the most primitive of ancient commonwealths, before the working out of Greek philosophy or of Roman law. It is absolutely incompatible with the message of the Gospel which made manifest to mankind the inalienable dignity of each human soul. Its action on the political or social level assumes a philosophy of life which denies all transcendence to the human person, whether it be with regard to matter, with regard to nature, with regard to society; and it carries this philosophy along with it. Here is its definition, in crude terms, as stated in the words of Japanese educators: "The individual is not an entity, but depends upon the whole, born of the State and maintained by the State." Italian fascism, built on nationalism and state-worship, has summed up its doctrine in a formula which yields nothing to that just quoted: "Nothing outside or above the State, nothing against the State, everything in the State, everything for the State."

Marxist historical materialism in order to triumph over the world requires *the destruction of religion, of the family, of everything which protects the human person and prevents its absorption into the social mass.* Nazi biological materialism requires *the same radical destruction,* here closely linked, moreover, *with an anti-religion founded on the forces of pride and instinct, and with the will to submit humanity to the domination of a people or a race displaying its superiority by its oppression of others.* Essentially incompatible with that traditional "order" and those traditional values which it mendaciously invokes, nazism represents, in the order of concrete achievement, the most irremediable outcome of the process of corruption so long at work in modern history. It raises up against Christianity a root denial of the unity of mankind and the fraternity of all men, sons of the same Father and redeemed by the same Christ. By means of its technique of propaganda, coupled with the fearful strength of its party organization and of its army, it today shows itself more efficient than communism, better suited to bring about the triumph of the anti-Christian revolution unleashed upon the world.

The present war has its immediate causes and its distant causes—political, economic and social; but the struggle between the peoples is only the manifestation on the international level of a deeper break: the break in men's agreement over the principles of civilization.

It is therefore in the light of the principles they involve that the war aims of each belligerent group appear in their final meaning.

The war and democracy

II *Is democracy the issue at stake in the struggle?* If by the word democracy you mean the *political and social life of a community of free men,* the answer must be in the affirmative. Not so, however, if you mean thereby *some particular system or some particular political forms,* as, for instance, they were known to certain European countries under pre-war conditions. Inspired as they are by democratic principles, these forms are merely a realization thereof as linked to certain historical contingencies; they do not exhaust these principles' fruitfulness. Without forgetting the power of improvement which they in fact displayed in Europe as well as in America—without denying for instance that the Third Republic coincided in France with an up-surging irrefutably evidenced not only by a splendid flowering in

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literature, the sciences and the arts, but by mighty achievements such as the Colonial Empire and finally the victory of 1914-18—without denying all this, we must grant that it is a characteristic of civilization that each people should have the freedom to create institutions appropriate to the new needs of each epoch.

But *there are principles which under no circumstances must ever be questioned.* Such are those which assert the necessity for society's being founded upon *relationships of justice,* those which assert *the rights of the human person,* to which democratic formulas, notably the principle of universal suffrage, have in practice given political expression. *Liberty,* that is, the right of the body politic, and of each of its members, themselves to determine the paths they will follow to their natural end; *equality* of citizens before the law and before life's tasks; *civic friendship or fraternity* whereof justice is the prerequisite, and which presupposes not only the consanguinity resulting from our common origin, but also, and far more deeply still (and we Christians know this) that brotherhood in which all men have been established in Christ and which requires of them that they strive toward a friendship higher and more universal than civic friendship, one founded in God and in the love of charity: surely the democracies were not wrong to have invoked these three principles; their wrong lay in too often having failed to recognize their true foundations, and in having been powerless to give them reality. These principles find their purest wellspring in the Gospel's inspiration, and they are at one with the Christian ideal of civilization: *the campaign of denial now being waged against them marks a tragic withdrawal from that ideal.*

Capitalism is not the issue at stake in the war

III *Is the preservation of capitalism the issue at stake in the struggle?* We can grant that capitalism has greatly contributed to the development of the material elements of civilization, that it has allowed the individual, to the degree wherein he possessed and managed at his pleasure the means of production, to assert his power over things and to maintain the independence of his undertakings. But the anarchical conception which capitalism has made prevalent of the function of freedom in economic matters, the dominance assumed by material riches under this régime, the subordination of man to production, the concentration, without social guarantee as to their morality, in the hands of a small number of men, of economic wealth and the power it confers—in short, the inhumanity of this economic system, the consequences of which have been the creation of a proletariat and the class struggle, incurs the condemnation of morality and the reproaches of any political or economic philosophy which has the common good at heart. If, then, "plutocratic" interests are at the moment defending themselves under cover of the war, this encounter—*accidental in regard to what is really at stake and obviously made transitory by the ruins and transformations which the war itself produces—binds neither our judgment nor our action nor our will for social reform.* Moreover the errors, failings, contradictions of Christian principles, springing from capitalism, are themselves certainly *less radical and less "total" than those of totalitarian doctrines and régimes.*

The issue at stake in the war is civilization itself and the Christian values therein involved

IV Finally, the revolution in arms which is seeking to conquer the world doubtless does not set itself the direct and avowed object of destroying supernatural faith; nevertheless the temporal aims which it pursues imply the establishment of *a radically anti-Christian order on this earth.*

It is therefore, at the outset and directly, *the relationship of our faith to civilization* which is at issue and which involves us in the struggle. For our faith does indeed enlighten our conception of the temporal social order: it creates for us a duty to act as Christians throughout social life, to provide social life with institutions which are characteristic of Christian societies and which condition the individual's spiritual life. Thus it is not enough that the Church preserve the integrity of its dogma and, under circumstances which totalitarianism—by whatever name it be named—makes ever more threatened and precarious, preserve the performance of its ritual, the administration of its sacraments. It is necessary that the Church, and we believers, should retain the possibility of making the Gospel serve as a leaven in society. *The liberties of the Christian and of the Church in the world,* the possibility of fulfilling *their most urgent social duties, the principles, also, of natural law* which Revelation assumes and confirms—here are the things hanging in the balance, until that day when *the essential mission of the Church herself* with regard to the salvation of souls shall also in its turn be openly and ferociously attacked.

Whenever the totalitarians, accused of hostile designs against religion, insist that they are being slandered and that they do not intend to strike any blow either against Christian beliefs or Christian worship as such, they deceive themselves—assuming that they can be sincere—and they deceive us. The implacable perseverance and the frightful cruelty of a systematic, enraged persecution—notably in Poland—cast a brilliant light upon this pretense. Needless to say they will then indict the ministry of the Church for having abused its sacred power by undue intervention in the field of politics; long ago the Pharisees won

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Christ's condemnation for having made a similar indictment.

The truth is this: that totalitarianism's new order is rooted in a conception of existence and in a spiritual attitude utterly incompatible with Christian faith and life.

It attacks Christianity at the very heart by denying and blaspheming Mercy and Charity and by sacrificing everything to the pride of power. In every corner of the earth where our religion has any vitality, it cannot fail to be a major danger for such régimes, and they cannot fail to be determined to fight it. Persecution could be avoided only at the price *of making the faith impotent and sterile among Christians, of the corruption of the Catholic world from within,* of that which the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon has called *a dechristianization of the Church herself.* Even in those cases where they are clothed in less radical forms and where they are introduced under some protective veil, totalitarian régimes inevitably move toward the realization of this pattern, more deadly to religion than open persecution. *There is no more pernicious illusion than to imagine that one can christianize totalitarianism. The totalitarianisms which today seek to invade the whole world can only triumph over the ruins of Christianity.*

In short this war is not an economic or political war, it is a *war of civilization,* and by virtue thereof, because it involves *the spiritual and religious principles of the civilized order,* it is also a religious war. It must even be said that *no more fearful spiritual crisis has appeared since the beginning of the Christian era.* And surely this crisis does not spring from partial denials alone, of the sort of which modern history supplies so many specimens. Marxian totalitarianism is founded on an absolute denial of God; it is an attempt to erect a total social order of Humanity on foundations of materialism and atheism. Fascist totalitarianism rests upon the deification of the national state. Nazi totalitarianism rests upon the deification of race and "blood" and on a radically pagan conception of the world and of life—something which carries with it as its inevitable consequence not only the denial of Christ and of the God of the Judaeo-Christian tradition and of healthy philosophical reason, but at the same time the denial of the human person, the denial of justice and of law, the worship of violence and of hate, *erected into a positive and religious principle.* Hence the conflict is radical and universal. Hence nazism is incapable, even if it wanted to, of setting itself a limit. Hence the hope of seeing a civilized society survive under its governance anywhere in the world is sheer delusion.

The actual issue at stake in the present conflict is the very possibility of living as men, the very existence or destruction of the elementary bases of the natural law and civilized life, the maintenance or the destruction of the essential principles of Christianity in the life of peoples, and the very possibility of working toward a Christian civilization.

Our position in the Russo-German conflict

V With regard to the conflict which today sets German National Socialism and Russian Communism against each other, Christians are confronted with a problem of conscience. This practical problem, like all problems relating to a particular case, is linked to an appraisal of the actual circumstances involved, and it is resolved in our minds by the following considerations:

1. In the death struggle in which the free peoples of the world are engaged, it is their great good fortune, with which it would be senseless to refuse to cooperate, that Russia, rather than remaining neutral or joining with Germany, should have brought into play its military power, the measureless effort and the patriotic bravery of its people *against the common enemy, nazism.* Russia was attacked by the nazis. The Russian people are defending their homes. By helping them in their struggle, the United Nations do nothing which does not conform to the rules of the law of nations.

2. Given the present situation of opposing forces, a victory of Hitler's Germany would immediately hold for the entire world consequences of a breadth and gravity to which even a sweeping Russian victory would not lead. Such a Russian victory *would leave the democratic powers their freedom of action, would leave free to act the Christian energies which still work therein and have therein every opportunity to widen their range.* The Western world would retain the possibility of opposing the development within its own body of the communist ferment by any fitting action—above all by depriving communism of its pretexts. It is important only, while helping the Russian people, that one be thoroughly resolved to guard against communism—which, of course, presents difficult problems. Where today are the easy problems? Yet thus to guard oneself is not at all impossible.

3. Finally the all important historical fact is that in moving over to the democratic camp, the Russian people is in the process of *re-entering the Western community,* and that in itself enlarges the possibilities of civilization's victory. The leaven of Christian forces ever exists in this people, despite the havoc wrought by atheist propaganda in Russia and despite persecution. An action of generosity and justice toward the Russian people on the part of Christians will help them in the work of transformation which may

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take place within them, and which, without leading that people back into the social patterns of the past, can deliver them from the spiritual and political evils from which they now suffer.

II DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES FOR THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE FUTURE

VI Of course it is impossible at the present juncture to have a precise idea of the institutions of the future. Too many unforeseeable circumstances will give them shape. And civilization, like Christianity, can accommodate itself to many different régimes. But it is possible and necessary to set up a number of main directive principles, fully conformable to the teaching lavished by the Church ever since the days of Leo XIII.

The threat springs from totalitarianism; the cure should consider human life in its total ordering. The latter stands on a two-fold base: (1) the rights and liberties of the human person, (2) the necessity for the organization of these liberties at all levels of social life with an eye to the common good.

In the light of these principles it is easily seen that the errors of anarchical individualism and liberalism, as well as those of exaggerated nationalism, bear their great share of responsibility for the present crisis of our civilization and that they call for a general recasting—on condition that this recasting insure in greater reality and more completely *the essential liberties and the equality of all before the law,* and restore the *intrinsic primacy of morality* in political, economic and social life and in international life.

The function and limits of political authority

VII It is possible—and some of us believe it to be true—that in Europe's present disorganization a particularly vigorous political authority may be necessary: but the form lent to the exercise of power by circumstances does not change its end, nor the foundation of the authority of which it makes use. To exercise power is properly to manage the interests of the multitude—*vicem gerens multitudinis*—and the multitude cannot abdicate either the principle of its responsibility nor its control of its own destiny without forswearing human diginity. Moreover we are all convinced that *the part to be played by the worker and peasant classes will be of capital importance in political and social reconstruction,* assuming only that these classes become conscious of their responsibilities and clearly embrace an ideal of liberty.

Autonomy of economic groups and the political liberties of the person

VIII It will be necessary to give to states a structure more in harmony with new social realities as well as with the rights and liberties of the person. It is not to be denied that certain organic elements in the social order—the family, the professions, sectional groups, cultural groups, communities of a linguistic and national character—have not, under individualistic and liberal organization, enjoyed the status they deserved. Economic groups and the forces of labor especially have not found in modern institutions a proper representation nor means of expression proportionate to their importance and suited to their functions in the community. But it is not in the dictatorship of some corporatism, or of some state paternalism, that the answer will be found. *The freedom of groups and associations of a rank inferior to the State is, together with the recognition of the social dignity of the working person, an essential condition for all true reconstruction.* The State, taking into account the actual structure of society, should no longer merely coordinate individual activities, but the activities of the groups which are component parts of society, and its power must be sufficient to make the strongest groups subject to the law. In these matters the power of the State nonetheless remains a power of coordination, which carries with it neither the absorption of groups by the State nor its trampling upon their natural authority and their natural autonomy. Such groups should be thought of as organs of the civil community, not as organs of the State.

The distinction between the political and economic orders, *between the political structure of the State and the economic organization of society* must be firmly maintained. The political structure of the State must above all be founded on the recognition of the rights of *the human person* to political life. The political life and organization of the State are on a level above those of economic groups. The political organization of the State must rest essentially upon the political rights and liberties of the citizens. The political life of the State must express the citizens' thought and will, and it is up to the latter freely to designate those who wield authority, and to be represented in deliberative assemblies.

Freedom of conscience

IX In social life it is important forcefully to insist upon that which is commonly known as *freedom of conscience.* Adherence to religion is an act of the conscience, which should be submissive to the dictates of reason and to divine guidance. It is not the function of the State either to dominate or to control consciences. The creeds which, in the present state of religious disunity, share souls' allegiance should be free to establish their rites, to preach their teachings, to shape souls, to

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exercise their apostolate, without the civil authority's mixing into their proper province. We are aware, moreover, that by its teaching on the act of faith, God's free gift, freely accepted, and which no constraint can produce in souls, it is Christianity itself which lays the basis for civil tolerance in religious matters.

Anti-Semitism is not Christian

X We reprobate *every measure of discrimination against whatever religious or racial group,* and we assert with Pius XI that it *"is not possible for Christians to take any part in anti-Semitism."* By attacking that people from whom Christ came forth, anti-Semitism shows itself as anti-Christian in its very root. Contrary to Christianity is every doctrine which, by error or by hatred, makes nought men's exercise of their natural rights by reason of their ethnic or religious affiliations. If individuals or groups of any particular race or religion threaten the common good, repression must punish such actions in accordance with personal responsibilities; and preventive measures can never deprive any individual of the enjoyment of natural rights and of the conditions of a free, worthy and human life which the State, by its very reason for being, must insure everyone. Every law of "exceptions" or of "discrimination" is unjust. And furthermore we know that Christians must not only take care of themselves and their interests, but of the good of all their brothers and of the fate of justice and of law, and that the hideous racial, religious and political persecutions which today engulf the world in blood strike at the heart of each one of us in so far as he belongs to Christ.

The freedom and interdependence of peoples

XI Yet the structure of the social order would be incomplete, weak and contrary to law if it did not take into account both the *freedom* of peoples and their growing *interdependence.* The two ideas of independence or autonomy and of interdependence or solidarity are not incompatible if neither the one nor the other be carried to its extreme.

"So, Venerable Brethren, it is indispensable for the existence of harmonious and lasting contacts and of fruitful relations, that the peoples recognize and observe these principles of international natural law which regulate their normal development and activity. Such principles demand respect for corresponding rights to independence, to life and to the possibility of continuous development in the paths of civilization; they demand, further, fidelity to compacts agreed upon and sanctioned in conformity with the principles of the law of nations."[1]

"Assuring to all nations, great and small, weak and powerful, the right to life and independence" is thus a "fundamental postulate of a just and honorable peace. The will to live of one nation must never involve injustice, even less be equivalent to a death sentence for another. When this equal status has been wounded or destroyed or put in danger, juridical order requires reparation, the measure and extension of which are not determined by the sword nor by arbitrary egoism, but by the forms of reciprocal justice and equity."[2]

On the other hand, "The idea which credits the State with unlimited authority is not simply an error harmful to the internal life of nations, to their prosperity, and to the larger and well-ordered increase in their well-being, but likewise it injures the relations between peoples, for it breaks the unity of supra-national society, robs the law of nations of its foundation and vigor, leads to violation of others' rights and impedes agreement and peaceful intercourse.

"A disposition, in fact, of the divinely-sanctioned natural order divides the human race into social groups, nations or states, which are mutually independent in organization and in the direction of their internal life. But for all that, the human race is bound together by reciprocal ties, moral and juridical, into a great commonwealth directed to the good of all nations and ruled by special laws which protect its unity and promote its prosperity."[1]

"Between peoples assured of their autonomy and independence,"[2] then, should be tied fast the moral and juridical bonds required by their solidarity, which becomes all the stronger as civilization develops.

This interdependence is made manifest *on the cultural level.* Every culture legitimately bears the marks of the historical, local, psychological contingencies which helped give it birth, but there remains in each a particular incarnation of values common to all, since they are essentially human and constitute the common heritage of humanity.

It is made manifest *on the economic level.* If there is a legitimate appropriation of the soil and its resources to the profit of the people which dwells thereon, there is also a general destination for earthly goods, which can be exploited only through the collaboration of all and should be exploited only for the good of all.

It is made manifest *on the level of social progress.* Technical progress, the mainspring of production, the multiplication of the material elements of civilization permit a bettering of the general conditions of life, in accordance with a rule of justice. But at the same time they cause men to run the risk of being crushed and dehumanized by the sheer weight of economic institutions. Only a collaboration between peoples can

[1] Encyclical *Summi Pontificatus* (October 20, 1939).

[2] Address of His Holiness Pope Pius XII in answer to Christmas greetings, 1939.

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keep technical progress in hand and effectively protect men against the fluctuations of an economy which is, henceforth, at once national and international.

It is made manifest *on the international level.* Be it a matter of their own interests—security, assistance against aggression, justice in their relationships, the functioning of the major international administrative services—or be it a matter of the protection of the interests of their subjects, states have today ceased to be able to insist upon an absolute independence which events and the natural law replace with the principle of collaboration and collective organization.

In every domain—cultural, economic, social, political—some organization should give expression to the bonds of solidarity. For these, after having become manifest in growing yet sporadic fashion, today are transforming the community of peoples into a true society, which calls for a positive organization and requires states to give up the principle of absolute sovereignty. Institutions should correspond to needs, supply them with the means to express themselves and to satisfy themselves; juridical rules promulgated and applied by international agencies should determine and sanction moral precepts.

Toward an organization of freedoms

XII Hence on the one hand organization should spring up from the exercise of that *freedom* which is at the root of national, economic, cultural, political institutions, and on the other hand these freedoms must tend *to organize themselves* in a truly new order as compared to the chaos left behind by modern political and economic individualism, or as compared to that order of hegemony built upon the destruction of human freedoms to which communism, fascism and nazism lead. At the foundation of this truly new order there is the human person, and moreover it is the good of that person, or the idea of the good of mankind, which is the goal of that organization.

* * *

We firmly hold that no true peace or prosperity are possible unless these principles be observed.

That we must go back to the very bedrock of our thought, that we must once more in all realms quarry out *the principles on which rests the Christian conception of the world*, in its turn the basis for our action—that is the lesson taught us by the progress of totalitarianism. It is forgetfulness of these basic truths which favors this progress, and which has too often made impotent the labors of even the most well-intentioned. Too many minds pinning themselves down to the incidental in economics or politics lose sight of that which is essentially, and above all else, important. Reason has ended by denying itself in its denial of any transcendent absolute or in worshiping lying absolutes; force alone has remained. Even the very vagaries of marxism, fascism, and nazism by contrast make more obvious and manifest the value of the primary principles of the intelligence and of life; it is by integrally reaffirming these principles, adhering to them with all our being, that we shall set up against the dynamism of the false prophets the irrepressible impulse which has its source in the Gospel and in the Truth which sets men free.

* * *

This manifesto was already formulated when the United States, treacherously attacked in its turn, entered the war against the axis powers. The moral and spiritual meaning of this war was clearly indicated by President Roosevelt when, addressing the American hierarchy, he declared that "in victory we shall seek not vengeance but the establishment of an international order in which the spirit of Christ shall rule the hearts of men and of nations." We all of us Europeans from many lands sojourning in the new world wish to assert our full solidarity with the great American democracy and our will to cooperate with all our strength in the effort of the United States, Canada and the other countries of the western hemisphere for that common victory which will also be the victory of our peoples and the liberation of Europe.

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Charles Boyer (*France*)
Frans J. Van Cauwelaert (*Belgium*)
The Reverend Marie-Alain Couturier, O. P. (*France*)
André David (*France*)
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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

AS A POSTSCRIPT to what was said in this place last week about the very important and valuable study of National Patriotism in Papal Teaching, by Father John J. Wright, of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts, perhaps a few more remarks may be tolerated by my patient readers. First of all, let me repeat, with some emphasis, that this very thorough exposition of the Papal doctrine relating to one of the most important and baffling problems now facing humanity, is not recommended solely to scholars, teachers, and the intellectual élite exclusively, only of course it also is true that its full value can only be made available through its use and exposition by our intellectual, as well as our spiritual and moral leadership of the Catholic Church. But I do recommend its reading, and pondering upon its contents, on the part of our students in college, and that minority of our laity, men and women alike, who more and more today desire honestly and helpfully to play their parts as citizens, and as members of various groups and classes within our national society—journalists, lawyers, politicians, business men, workers, artists, and the like—both as Catholic Christians, as patriotic American citizens, and as human beings who are part of the great human family, however much that family may be at present divided, and seething with interior discontents and revolts, and almost universally at war. For those of us who belong to this second general class of possible readers and students of Father Wright's book, even although we may regret that so many of the valuable notes, and quotations used in the body of the text, are left untranslated in Latin and other languages which most of us do not know, and while we realize that much of the reasoning employed in expounding the authoritative Papal teaching cannot always be adequately followed by those not soundly educated in the technical terminology of theology, philosophy, and canon

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law, nevertheless, so clear and instructive and ample is the main course of the study, that its perusal and meditation cannot fail to reward and enrich lay readers.

Probably, many such lay readers may pause long at and many times return to consider, a passage in the essay (page 316) which sums up a practical problem which laymen are particularly concerned with. It is: "In order that the Church may accomplish her work of disposing men and nations as well as to make her positive contribution of a world code and a world moral tribunal, two conditions are manifestly essential, the first as a point of practical necessity, the second as an ideal goal to be attained: (1) the nations of the world must guarantee the absolute independence of the Holy See in the exercise of its mission of teaching men and nations; (2) all men desirous of lasting social union must seek, as an indispensable condition of that union in any perfect degree, religious unity in submission to the Divine authority of the Holy See, though the present religious divisions of mankind need not and must not prevent collaboration among men of good will towards the solution of the problem of humanity divided by nationalism."

The average Catholic layman, it seems to me, who accepts this statement fully, is, however, gravely troubled by the lack of clear directives, and authoritative examples, issuing from the teaching and governing, especially the governing, officials of the Church, to guide him in that collaboration with "men of good will" wich is not merely recommended, but "must not" be prevented, as Father Wright expressly says. Yet for such laymen and laywomen, and for the clergy as well, collaboration with organized groups containing non-Catholics is fraught with serious difficulties. There is, for prime example, the case of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It is a principle guiding the work of this organization that fundamental differences of religious belief and doctrine shall not be made barriers to the cooperation of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish American citizens in studying practical problems confronting all citizens in common, and in devising, if possible, or supporting, efforts to solve such problems in the interest of the public good. In many parts of our country, Catholics are officially encouraged to give their cooperation but in other parts they are positively discouraged; hence, in all parts there is a depressing attitude of doubt, hesitation, embarrassment, concerning Catholic cooperation.

Short of the intervention of the miraculous, rather than the ordinary, intervention of Divine Providence, which, as all history proves, employs mankind's free will, rather than arbitrary decrees, as the main instrument at the service of Grace, in accomplishing God's purposes for mankind, it seems clear that only through long and gradual cooperation among members of the various religious groups in which, at long last, mighty Truth must prevail, can we hope for "the solution of the problem of humanity divided by nationalism," to use Father Wright's words, and divided also by those underlying religious differences which, as his book so amply shows, are among the root-causes of nationalism. Now, if Catholic cooperation should, in the belief of Catholic authorities, be confined strictly to purely spiritual means, given through prayer and the sacraments, aided by intellectual means, such as the preaching and publication of Catholic doctrine, and philosophy, should not the Catholic laity be duly instructed along such lines? But if Catholic cooperation of a more exterior, personal, active character also is good—and in places that view prevails—why cannot it be made general? The present situation can only breed a sort of Laodiceanism.

Communications

MISSION TO AMERICA

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In the August 7 number of THE COMMONWEAL so many of the articles are good, and timely, that it is an "embarras de richesses" but permit me to write of two of great importance. One by Mr. Paulding on "Justice" is superb, and the review of "Mission to America," by Ted Le Berthon, awakens in my soul great rejoicing. The idea of Fanchon Royer Gallagher, if successful in producing this type of Catholic film interesting to all, is a work of real value. The hope has been in my heart for years, and now I see its realization! All encouragement be given her in her truly Christian, intelligent work.

ALICE E. WARREN.

REPLIES FROM SYLVESTER

Orleans, Mass.

TO the Editors: I am glad for the correction concerning Father Braun's order, but I would like to point out that the error, although mentioned in my review, was not mine. Mr. Reynolds, on page 98 of "Only the Stars Are Neutral," writes: "A little Jesuit priest, Father Braun, said Mass every day in his Moscow church. . . . I talked with Father Braun. I mentally apologized as a Catholic for the things I've thought about Russia's attitude toward religion."

This is Mr. Reynolds's only reference to the priest. On more sober second thought, I think it would have been nice if Mr. Reynolds had told us what Father Braun said.

* * *

To discuss the subtleties of a writer like James Gould Cozzens in the correspondence columns of a magazine of limited space is not easy; and I hope I will not seem too forthright in saying that Mr. Francis Downing simply does not know what Mr. Cozzens is writing about in "The Just and The Unjust."

I read the judge's charge to the jury, in which the distinction between first and second degree murder is made clear, and I am sure that everyone in the book, including the jury, was aware of that difference. The point is that the jury wilfully and intentionally disregarded the technicalities of the law in order to return a verdict calling for what they felt was, under the circumstances, a commensurate punishment. Mr. Cozzens carefully refrained from indicating whether some of the statements of the defendants were true or not. The jury chose to regard them as true, particularly those statements pertaining to the matter of their intention the night of the murder.

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The law did not provide for this particular matter of intention. The jury therefore provided for it, although in doing so it disregarded the technicalities of the law. Mr. Downing proves nothing of the author's intention by his quotation of Judge Coates. That particular statement of the Judge's was to console his son. Judge Coates made a much more pertinent remark when he likened the jury to the gasket on a cylinder head, i.e. a flexible thing designed to compensate for any gap existing between justice and the law.

The jury in Mr. Cozzens's book returns its verdict only partly because Harry Wurtz flatters and cajoles them. A large number of things influence this jury, of which Harry Wurtz is only one. Some of these things are nameless and obscure, and Mr. Cozzens, like the great artist he is, indicates their existence but does not try always to give them name or a shape. The extent of Mr. Downing's appalling lack of subtlety is revealed when, out of the myriad things which Mr. Cozzens carefully indicates as influencing the jury, Mr. Downing chooses only the most obvious as the cause for the jury's verdict.

Mr. Downing writes: "That it is possible for a smart aleck lawyer successfully to do this sort of thing is precisely what Mr. Cozzens is trying to show." It is precisely the opposite. Mr. Cozzens shows that the jury is capable of returning an essentially just verdict *in spite* of the fact that Wurtz is a smart aleck, egregious even to them.

Mr. Cozzens is one of the most subtle novelists since Stendhal. Letters like Mr. Downing's are part of the price Mr. Cozzens pays for his method of unstressed implication. Neither myself nor Mr. Downing can prove anything in these columns without resort to quotation on an impractical scale. It would be good if Mr. Cozzens could settle this for us, but thoroughly understandable if he does not. If anyone is interested in the difference of opinion between Mr. Downing and myself, I suggest he read the novel in question and form his own opinion. Mr. Downing to the contrary, I still think it is an American classic.

HARRY SYLVESTER.

Some Like It in the Pot

IT DEPENDS on what you like. I know that *"The Magnificent Ambersons"* is accused of being arty, uncinematic and unpleasantly gloomy. It is all those things—and I like it in spite of them. To a great extent, Orson Welles, its producer, director, scenarist, uses his own radio technique. There is little action and much talk. Frequently the episodic script stops moving entirely while Welles comments about the "magnificence" of the wealthy Ambersons. He tells us about their house in Indianapolis about their times at the end of the last century, about their heyday in the '70s and about their decline in the '90s. And he shows us a series of pictures that make up this beautifully photographed period piece. Except for Agnes Moorehead who gives a splendid portrayal as the frightened, frustrated Aunt Fanny, the well chosen cast are not required to go in for histrionics. They need only to look and think their parts while the first-rate camera (Director of Photography: Stanley Cortez) and the costumes (Edward Stevenson) and the Art Director and set Director (Mark-Lee Kirk and Al Fields) do their best work with stunning effectiveness. In looks and for the kind of acting required the cast is perfect: Tim Holt as the insufferable, class-conscious George, the twenty-year-old raised in the lap of luxury, who looks down on labor, whose background does not prepare him for the blows that fall; lovely Dolores Costello as Isabel "that divinely ridiculous woman," his doting mother who concentrated all her love on her one child and suffers for her thoughtlessness; Joseph Cotten who courted Isabel and lost her through a youthful foolishness and then courted her later and lost her through her son's arrogant snobbery; Anne Baxter as the fresh, young girl whose love for George does not blind her to the facts and who is not fooled by the magnificence of George's family; Ray Collins as the gay Amberson bachelor gone to seed; Richard Bennett as the last of the magnificent Ambersons left in the '90s with only his memories and mistakes to contemplate.

The Booth Tarkington novel, on which the film is based, was one of my favorites when it appeared in 1918. No doubt much of my liking for the film is due to this as well as the nostalgic glow for the period which the picture has. That the plot is on the depressing side one can hardly deny. Such a story of decay could not be pleasant. Although George is not our main interest, he is the central figure. The Greek-chorus townsfolk tell us that George can't help being such a selfish snob because "he's Isabel Amberson's son." And like these townsfolk we have to get much of our dubious pleasure from watching George get his "come-uppance." But while we are watching this distribution of justice, we enjoy some of cinema's most impressive photography: shots of the overstuffed Victorian house, shots of the family at meals and at play, magnificent shots of the staircase on which Aunt Fanny and George enact their spiteful drama, shots of the mourners at the funeral of Isabel's husband—mourners whom we can study carefully because the camera in the coffin shows us their intimate faces as they look down at us. Much of the camera work is misty and blurred to look like 1890 photography. Severest critics who jumped on Mr. Welles for the cold intellectualism of "Citizen

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Kane" will jump harder on his new film. But moviegoers who can take a film with a brain, who do not need to be soft-soaped with sentimental pap and who can enjoy a novel technique even though it is out of the movie tradition, will find in "The Magnificent Ambersons" a film of beauty and discernment.

It doesn't seem possible that a comedy film would come out of this war—but one has. I don't mean the slapstick kind of farce that was supposed to be in "To Be or Not To Be" or "The Wife Takes a Flier." I mean the gentle kind of wit and satires that are found in *"The Pied Piper"* —as genuinely sweet and effectively clever kind of humor as you'd ever want to see in a war-background movie. And you will want to see "The Pied Piper." From the moment Monty Woolley starts arguing with Roddy McDowell as to whether Rochester is a state or city, the fun starts. But at that moment, in June 1940, in the little inn in the French Alps, the elderly, bearded gentleman decides to go back to England "to knit." Some English parents persuade Mr. Woolley to take their little boy and girl back with him. Now tart, irascible Mr. W. doesn't like children; and Roddy annoys him especially; when Roddy's sister gets sick in the train that's the last straw. But it isn't. Woolley finds, on the bus to Chartres, that he's picked up a little French girl. Near Fontainebleau, as the Parisians are fleeing from the city, our Pied Piper finds he has a French boy added to his charges. "What is this! Come one, come all!!" Then suddenly little Willem is in the party. Finally Nicole (Anne Baxter) agrees to show the whole group how they can cross the Channel. But the nazis step in at this point and arrest the back-talking, man-who-came-to-dinner tempered Mr. W. as a SPY. You wonder how he'll get out of that predicament. How he does fits well into the scheme of this delightful screenplay written by Nunnally Johnson from Nevil's Shute's novel. Perhaps this final escapade makes one nazi officer a little nicer and more sentimental than we care to think of the nazis. Otto Preminger plays the officer well and it isn't his fault that this episode is the film's weakness. Irving Pichel has directed the whole expertly; and the photography and sets are excellent. Of course major credit must go to Monty Woolley who is perfect as the sassy old gent who becomes more indignant (and more human) as each child is added to his group. Without becoming mushy, he portrays genuine sentiment. And the children are delightful. Experienced Roddy McDowell is the best but each of the younger tots offers much in his own way. Pichel and Johnson have made an adult war film that will warm the cockles of your heart.

"Wings for the Eagle" provides an opportunity to see another angle of the war—the production side. Much of the film was made in the California Lockheed plant; and one actually gets the feeling, through the good shots of production, of the increased speed that came in 1940 and '41. The film's main strength lies in its portrayal of the extra effort to get the 2,000th plane rolling off the assembly line. Unfortunately combined with all this is a weakly motivated story. Not that the story is successful in detracting from the importance, exactness and rush in the manufacture of planes, but the plot itself involves people whose motives are not entirely clear. We understand the wisecracking, smart-alecky youth (played by Dennis Morgan). His efforts to get out of the draft through working in an essential industry are shown realistically; but the reasons that compel him to change his mind and finally enlist after Pearl Harbor are not defined—unless we are to believe that his draft evasion and laughing-at-patriotism were only a pose. And then there's the little fracas that arises between Ann Sheridan and her husband, Jack Carson. Unemployment makes sensitive Jack resent Dennis's job and cheeriness. Jack and Ann quarrel, but come together again after Pearl Harbor. Then there's the third theme, that of George Tobias who is temporarily laid off by Lockheed until he gets his citizenship papers. His son (Russell Arms) studies evenings to get into the air corps—to the amazement of Morgan (who in the meantime probably works twice as hard at Lockheed as he would in a camp). Lloyd Bacon has directed his people well; and the film's production is good. The patriotism and flag-waving are understandable—too bad that this film's characters aren't. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Week

Life of the Heart

Bowen's Court. Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. $3.50.

A NOVELIST as sensitive and principled as Elizabeth Bowen very often will think of some new pasture and be so taken with the buttercups and daisies it obviously contains that nothing can hold her: she must at it. Sometimes such departure into fresh woods are of a sort to make one wish they had never been; sometimes they produce books one would not like to be without; nearly always what they yield is caviar to the general. "Bowen's Court" is certainly a book I would not have missed for the world, and I am utterly convinced that any reader who takes the bit between his teeth and gives it a fair chance will come away feeling as I do. Yet I am equally convinced that Miss Bowen will buy herself no diamond bracelets out of her royalties.

Miss Bowen is what the English call Irish and the Irish call English. In other words, she springs of "black Protestant" stock, Anglo-Irish stock, resident these several centuries in the South of Ireland, with more than a trace of aboriginal blood, and yet still not Celtic. These people are in many ways a tragic people. As she herself points out, Ireland absorbed them and yet never took them in. They are nowhere at home except in their own land, and their land is not their own. You may be tempted to say that it is once again a case of the sins of the fathers being visited upon their children, and yet it seems to me something far less simple. True enough, most Anglo-Irish society traced (and still traces) its wealth to thievery or aggression or whatever you wish to call it. It was certainly not Christian charity which moved the Elizabethan English to begin the exploitation of Ireland and the Irish, and moved the Cromwellian gentry and business men to push what had been gentlemanly piracy into systematic spoliation. Despite this nasty beginning, for which the conquered native Irish never forgave them, their overlords produced a remarkably charming and pleasant society, which was never purely colonial or provincial and which

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bore in it deep seeds planted by the new environment. It is one of the ironies of history that Ireland's English overlords in a very few generations produced a number of her most fearless patriots. For the Grattans, the Parnells, Douglas Hyde of today, were and are Anglo-Irish.

It is this peculiar history which has made it possible for Miss Bowen to turn what would otherwise have been a *tour de force* into a book. Bowen's Court is the name of the Bowen family place, first acquired in the days of Cromwell and situated under the shadows of the Ballyhouras, near Mitchelstown and Fermoy and Mallow and Doneraile in County Cork. Or rather it is the name of the house built by a Bowen early in the second half of the eighteenth century and still standing on this Bowen land and still belonging to a Bowen—Elizabeth herself. The involutions of the family give the book its pace and provide an infinite range for the study and re-creation of character within a single blood strain; there is no place here to go into such matters. But given the paradoxes of Irish history and life, this biography of a house seems to me one of the most moving and profound volumes I have read in recent months. If a reviewer were to let himself go, he could spend pages discussing this book, for like all good books it leaves unanswered a thousand questions and provokes a thousand deeper analyses. All that is obviously impossible. The best I can do is say that if what I have written so far arouses any spark of interest in the reader of these lines, then he had best turn to Miss Bowen's family history without further delay. "Up in the north-east corner of County Cork is a stretch of limestone country—open, airy, not quite flat; it is just perceptibly tilted from north to south, and the fields undulate in a smooth flowing way . . ."

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

HISTORY

Handbook of Federal Indian Law. Felix S. Cohen. Foreword by Harold L. Ickes. Introduction by Nathan R. Margold. US Department of the Interior.

"ART. 3. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

"During the course of a long life in which I have made observations of public affairs, it has appeared to me that almost every war between the Indians and whites has been occasioned by some injustice of the latter towards the former."

Benjamin Franklin (Writings, Vol. IX, p. 625.)

"I am glad to see the Great Father and shake hands with him. These are my people, but they are not Chiefs, but Soldiers, and they can fight. This is a great country. It once belonged to me, but is not mine today. I own a great country out toward the setting sun. (The Black Hills); but the white people now want to take it away from me. I shall not give it up without talking to you about it."

Lone Horse (The Cheyenne Chief) for the Indian Council, comprising—Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, et al., to President Grant, in person, April 19, 1874.

In his introduction, Nathan R. Margold, Solicitor for the Department of the Interior states: "This handbook does not purport to be a cyclopedia. It does not attempt to say the last word on the varied legal problems on which

India—Farm Labor—Mystery Plays

The imposing manifesto by European Catholics in this week's issue makes for a different balance than is characteristic of The Commonweal. But the importance of the ideas it embodies is typical enough. Next week's issue returns to a pattern which is more familiar to our readers.

THE REAL PROBLEM IN INDIA, by Harry Paxton Howard, is an expert analysis of the basic factors that are involved in the present Indian crisis. It deals with such topics as the extent to which the All-India Congress represents the Indian masses, where the British fit into the picture, and what measures would provide solutions for the many urgent problems of India's 390 millions.

FARM LABOR AND VICTORY, by Clarence J. Enzler, associate information specialist of the Department of Agriculture, is an answer on his own to Lyle W. Cooper's recent article, "Is There a Farm Labor Shortage?" In outlining the vital relationship between farm labor and the winning of the war, Mr. Enzler deals with both 1942 and 1943, when the pinch will be intense.

THEOPHILE, by Granger Ryan, is a readable account of a modern movement to put on finished productions of medieval miracle and mystery plays. The leader of the movement, which has recently spread to this country, is Gustave Cohen, professor of medieval French literature in the Faculty of Letters of the Sorbonne. Who takes part and how it is done.

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it treats. If one who seeks to track down a point of Federal Indian law, finds in this volume relevant background, general perspective, and useful leads to the authorities, the handbook will have served the purpose for which it was written. . . . Federal Indian Law is a subject that cannot be understood, if the historical dimension of existing law is ignored. . . . To recognize the different dates at which various provisions were enacted, is the first step towards order and sanity in this field."

Some historian has remarked that each Indian Treaty (or Agreement, as such were called after 1871) marks the end of a Frontier, and that the process began when Quebec and Jamestown were frontier posts. I note a reference to the treaty of 1851 at Fort Laramie with the Sioux Nations. At that time, according to a tradition, and I believe it well founded, Fort Laramie was in unorganized Territory. Minnesota Territory extended to the Missouri River on the west, and Nebraska Territory was not organized until 1854. The vast stretch of unorganized territory was, by common consent, of fur traders, frontiersmen and gold prospectors, called Mandan, after the famous Indian Tribe, which lived on the Missouri River. Joseph La Framboise had, in 1831, founded a trading post in their domain on the site of the present Fort Pierre, South Dakota. Josette La Framboise, the beautiful quarter-blood Ottawa girl, became the wife of Captain John Pierce, brother of President Franklin Pierce. As a resident of Dakota Territory, (1883-1889) and afterwards of South Dakota, I heard many of the great tales, and was even privileged to see the Great Sioux Chiefs Red Cloud, and Sitting Bull. In 1907, when I was licensed to practise law by the United States Court, for the Western District of the Indian Territory, I had an opportunity to witness the passing of the last Frontier—the Indian Territory. In the practise, I had constant occasion to study the "Allotment Acts of the Five Civilized Tribes"—(Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws.) I note with interest, in the Table of Cases, on that of—"Talley v. Burgess, 246 U. S. 104," which represented my first appearance in the Supreme Court of the United States, whence Justice Day almost ejected me by vigorous questions. He wrote the Opinion, deciding the case in my favor, but decided against me on my principal point.

Another case cited is "Folk v. United States, 233 Fed. 177." This was a *"cause célèbre"* involving the famous Tommie Atkins allotment in the Cushing Field—a so-called "arbitrary allotment" which the United States Government attempted to cancel and restore to the Creek Nation. My clients were the oil operators in possession, and we pleaded—and the Supreme Court of the United States subsequently upheld our contention—

> "That the enrollment of said Thomas Atkins, and the issuance of the allotment certificate and patents constitute an adjudication by a special tribunal, constituted by law—(The Dawes Commission) and are final decrees, conclusively adjudicating the right of said Thomas Atkins to enrollment."
>
> Answer of Defendants in Equity No. 2131—U. S. of America, Complainant, vs. Minnie Atkins, Filed February 15, 1915.

In the famed case of Mott v. United States, 293 U. S. 747, the Courts held that the Secretary's approval to an attempted gift by Jackson Barnett, an incompetent Full-blood Indian, of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of Liberty Bonds, which represented income from his restricted Creek Indian allotment (sales of oil) was nugatory and void, and forbidden by the guaranties of the United States Constitution. Approximately 1,800 cases are listed in the Table of Cases, and behind almost every case there is some matter of great interest and great moment. Many of the decisions, such as the Atkins case, represent a contest over millions. Others veil red-handed "murder"—such as Ex parte Kang-gi-Shunca, 109 U. S. 556. This was the Habeas Corpus application of Crow Dog, the Sioux Sub-Chief, who assassinated the Great Brule Chief Spotted Tail, and after having been sentenced to death by the Dakota Territorial Court sitting at Deadwood, escaped on the ground that the Indian Statute did not make his act, *"murder,"* justiciable as a crime over which the Dakota Courts had jurisdiction.

The "Handbook of Federal Indian Law" is a monumental work representing diligent, painstaking labor, and is indeed valuable to the legal practitioner having questions of Indian practice to solve. But it is much more than this. It contains matters of great historical interest, and is, in general, a mine of information re. Indian Affairs—in fact, it is a small Library of Indian History, Law, Treaties, Customs, treated from a philosophical point of view. The list of Indian Commissioners was interesting to me, since it contains the name of Charles Mix—a name preserved to fame by Charles Mix County, on the Missouri River, in Dakota, and the name of Hayt, who, tradition says, was badly worsted in an exchange of repartee with the Brule Chief Spotted Tail, in the presence of General Grant. Mr. Cohen and his collaborators deserve the thanks of the legal profession and, personally, I hope that the plan indicated in Mr. Margold's introduction, for a work on a still larger scale, may yet be carried out.

The book is for sale at the price of $2.00, by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., and the purchaser may be assured that he is making a "good buy."

T. D. LYONS.

Urbane Travelers. Boies Penrose, F.R.G.S. University of Pennsylvania. $3.00.

"I observed a custome in all Italian cities," wrote Tom Coryate in 1608, "that I doe not thinke any other nation in Christiandome doth use—the Italians doe alwaies at their meales use a little forke when they cut their meate."

TOM brought back his "forke" with him and used it to the hilarity of his friends at the Mermaid Tavern. His queerly shaped head, twinkling eye and darting wit made him the fashionable buffoon of the early Stuart society but Coryate was also a surprising linguist and hawklike observer; the 888-page compilation of his continental tour called "Coryat's Crudities" became the seventeenth century Baedeker. All of the many extant copies are badly worn because they have all been used by travelers!

Travel to the early Elizabethan was not classed as an amusement but an art—a form of patriotic service—and the usual goal was Italy. With the turn of the century a reaction set in against too great an Italianate influence and with the beginning of the great trading companies the Far East became the magnet. By caravan and sailboat, on horseback or afoot, the seven men mentioned by Mr. Penrose, for the most part Oxford graduates, struggled towards the Orient. Tom Coryate actually made his way on foot from Aleppo in Syria, across Iraq, Persia and the Afghan Desert to the court of the Great Mogul

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in India. It took him ten months and cost him £3. But he died that year (1617) in Surat, the headquarters of the East India Co. More fortunate, Fynes Moryson had survived a visit to Jerusalem and Constantinople in 1596-97. His "Itinerary," published the year of Coryate's death, weighs seven pounds! George Sandys, the son of the Archbishop of York, made his way to Cairo in 1610 and is the first British Egyptologist. Sir Henry Blount followed him to the Nile in 1634 but the real purpose of Blount's travels was to study the Turks for whom he maintained a very high regard. "The Turkish disposition is generous, loving and Honest." Turkish cleanliness also made an impression on him and he notes that those who bathe not twice or thrice a week are considered nasty—which may imply that the Stuarts sometimes forgot their Saturday tub.

"The Preacher's Travels," by John Cartwright, is an Elizabethan parson's impressions of Syria, Armenia, Iraq and Persia, who greatly enjoyed his luxurious sojourn with the British agent of the Levant Company in Aleppo, as he did the glories of Persia under Shah Abbas. In Isfahan, the capital, Cartwright describes the walls of the palaces "glistening with red Marble and pargetting of divers colours; Carpets wrought of silke and Gold, wndowes of Alabaster and white Marble, the Poastes of massive Ivory," and in the gardens he revelled in the fragrance of "the Lilly, the Hyacinth, the Gilly-flower, the Rose, the Violet, the Flower-gentle" while a "delightsome noyse arose from Brookes and Fountaines."

The travelers with the best adventures are Sir Thomas Herbert and William Lithgow. The first a distant cousin of the Earl of Pembroke, the second a Scotchman known in Lanark as "cut-lugged Willie" because his ears had been hacked off by the brothers of a young lady of higher degree with whom Willie had become too intimate. A belligerent Presbyterian, Lithgow had an inveterate hatred for Rome and an insatiate aptitude for the picaresque. In the Ionian Sea he fought with Turkish corsairs near Corfu, aided a French galley slave to escape in Crete, ran afoul of pirates again off Icaria and was shipwrecked on Chios. He found the islanders of Zante had grown rich shipping currants for wine to London, was nearly slain by robbers in Cyprus and arrived at Aleppo just too late to join the caravan to Baghdad—so he started off to Jerusalem. Violent death stalked him through Palestine. In Jerusalem he met six noble German Protestants and they set out together for Egypt. When three Germans succumbed to sunstroke, Lithgow fell heir to their possessions. Then the three surviving Germans obligingly overcelebrated their escape; one by one they also died in Cairo and Will found himself the richer by 942 gold sequins. It gave him a complex for traveling companions. But when four French fellow passengers died of plague between Alexandria and Ragusa, the Captain was too spry for him and got their purse. Lithgow sneered—it contained only 69 sequins. In Sicily his luck was better and coming suddenly upon the bodies of two young noblemen who had killed each other in a duel, Lithgow emptied their pockets of 300 double pistoles before galloping off to warn their families. Traversing Northern Africa, he visited a renegade Englishman who was Pirate King of Tunis and prospected in the Atlas Mountains for jewels. Straying up to Poland he makes curious notes of the many Scotch families living there. Finally he was apprehended as a spy in Malaga and then seized by the Inquisition for his anti-Catholic writings. For seven months he lay chained in a dungeon and was booked for a bonfire in

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Granada when a Flemish valet overheard his Spanish master discussing the Englishman's fate and the valet reported Lithgow's terrible plight to the British Consul. "Cut-lugged Willie," when he had recovered from the rack, tried to get to Russia but got caught in the siege of Breda. At any rate his "paynefull feet had traced near twice the circumference of the whole Earth."

Sir Thomas made only one expedition to the East when Charles I appointed him to the suite of Sir Dodmore Cotton who was heading a diplomatic mission to the Court of Shah Abbas in Isfahan. Accompanying Sir Dodmore was Robert Sherley, a picturesque character in the story of Eastern trading. Sherley had been in the Shah's service for thirty years, had reorganized his army and represented him in most of the Christian courts. Tom Coryate had been given 40 Persian shillings by Lady Sherley when his caravan encountered the Sherleys returning from a mission to the Great Mogul but the Shah had now tired of his English favorite and repudiated him on his arrival at the summer capital on the Caspian Sea. It broke Sherley's heart and he died. So did Sir Dodmore of the dysentery that then attacked Herbert. Lying half delirious in a basket on a camel's back, Sir Thomas started back with Lady Sherley. Wine was forbidden him but in an agony of thirst he emptied a bottle one day and it cured him. Teresia Sherley, a cousin of the Shah but a Catholic convert, then decided to remain with the Carmelites in Isfahan. She ended her life in an aura of saintliness in Rome where she brought her husband's body for burial in Santa Maria in Trastvere. In "Sherleian Odyssey," Mr. Penrose has written up the Sherleys and it sounds tempting, although we must confess that "Urbane Travelers" is disappointing. The charm of travel books lies in the detail of the picture and the personality of the traveler. A digest of them is stale ale. Frankly, the methodical enumeration of the different European capitals and towns visited by Morison and Coryate makes boring pages. Mr. Penrose is more interested in accuracy than dramatic narrative but, since students would consult the originals rather than these essays, he seems to have mistaken their purpose. At all events he whets one's curiosity.

E. V. R. WYATT.

POETRY

The Best Poems of 1941. Edited by Thomas Moult. Harcourt. $2.00.

NO BETTER, no worse than its 19 annual predecessors, Moult's Best Poems of 1941 contains (and how they got there is a delightful mystery) a good half-dozen poems with the indefinable "x" that is a poem. As usual, the annual is heavy with the bucolic, the edifying and the "timely," with diluted Tennyson and watered Wordsworth. However, there are some radiant compensations: Aiken's sonnets III and V, Frost's "Come In," the poem by Marianne Moore, de la Mare's exquisite and exciting "Storm."

One is hard put to understand the omission of such poets as Rodgers, Shapiro, Fearing, Ferril and Wallace Stevens: even more, of such supreme poems of the time as Reade's "Girl Dozing" (*Horizon*), Hughes's "Early Evening Quarrel" (*Compass*), Roethke's "Episode Seven" (COMMONWEAL), Humphries's "New Jersey Eclogue" and Frost's "A Serious Step Lightly Taken." In the parlance of the trade, the book is not a must for poetry lovers.

TOM BOGGS.

WAR

Year of the Wild Boar. Helen Mears. Lippincott. $2.75.

IN SPITE OF a pretty dreadful jacket, this is a good book. It is straight-forwardly written in simple and rather vivid English, and it really seems to tell you something about the Japanese which helps to explain that difficult nation; the explanation may perhaps be too simple, but it fits in well with the facts. That is—the facts as one can gather them from reading and hearing, for I can claim no intimate, immediate knowledge.

Miss Mears is evidently a beautifully typical specimen of the genus liberal American woman. She frankly considers science the be-all and the end-all of our civilization; she has never heard of Christian mysticism, or if she has, she has not understood it. She was born in New York, went to college, traveled, helped edit the *Survey Graphic*. She is undoubtedly a very reasonable and enlightened person.

On a visit to an English friend in Japan she decided she would have to find out how the Japanese mind worked. Everywhere around her she found history and life mixed up with mythology and faith; the resulting amalgam she decided must supply the key to what is Japan. And thanks to good "inside" connections she does a remarkable job of explaining and describing that amalgam. It is, she believes, a result of an economy of scarcity. If a whole nation is poor in things, what more natural than it should seek to enrich its lot by the use of the imagination? And centuries of living in two worlds, one real and the other fanciful, will naturally create a body of ritual intended to assist the imagination, or to take its place among those who are not richly indowed with its powers. Thus Japanese food gains its variety and spice from the names attached to the various dishes, not from any diversity in their physical composition. The Japanese soldier is invincible because he is endowed with the powers of the sword of his emperor's ancestral Sun Goddess, who also makes his crops grow and yield fruit.

Westernization is anathema because it might arouse in the people desire for more material rewards and less traditional flummery—and if that should happen, the whole system would collapse The Japanese, Miss Mears insists, are not an energetic people Their spasms of expansiveness have been only three throughout the centuries of their history—this being the third; and invariably they have reverted to absolute isolation after each. The present crisis she sees arising out of a conflict between the business people, who wanted to let the nation grow by economic process, and the military, who felt that the only hope was to conquer the needed sources of raw material and the needed markets Obviously the military have won out.

In a short review it is impossible to summarize adequately as carefully wrought a thesis as Miss Mears's. I have hinted that she is not herself a person with much sympathy for the myth-making capacity of mankind, or even for the supernatural in any form. Perhaps this limitation was a help in seeing more clearly the nature of the culture she sought to examine. At times it makes her book seem a little naïve, but that does not mean it should not be read—and carefully read—by anyone who wants to understand our Far Eastern enemy.

SAMPLER.

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The Inner Forum

Famine Relief Committee

ACCORDING to the latest issue of the London *Catholic Herald* to reach this country, Cardinal Hinsley of Westminster has welcomed the formation of an interfaith committee to send food to the German-controlled countries of Europe. Dr. Bell, Anglican Bishop of Chichester, told a *Herald* interviewer that, as had been done in the case of Greece, food could be shipped direct to the Continent through the use of navicerts. It quoted a public statement of Dr. Bell referring to the English claim to be the defenders of a Christian civilization in Europe, "The very survival of that civilization depends in part on the preservation of multitudes of human lives now menaced with famine. And we ourselves have a duty to be true to the values we have learned from the Christian faith; and to show mercy and compassion. We appeal for the preservation of human lives on the ground of Christian humanity." Catholics on the committee include Auiliary Bishop Edward Myers of Westminster, Canon George L. Craven and Douglas Woodruff, editor of the *Tablet*.

Commenting on the formation of this committee, M. B., presumably Michael de la Bedoyere, editor of the *Catholic Herald*, says in part: "We may recall that this paper has more than once drawn attention to the pressing need of bringing pressure to bear on the Government to remedy a ghastly state of affairs, as injurious to our national cause as it is tragic in itself. And we ventured to state that this was a work that fell primarily to the Church. . . . We refuse to regard that other alternative—that permission will not be granted, for if the whole Christian community, apart from subscribing generously to the famine relief fund, brings every pressure to bear on the Government by democratic means, further resistance will become impossible." And on the back page the *Herald* carried a news item about Bishop James Staunton of Ferns, Ireland, who in presenting certificates to 50 Red Cross workers at Enniscorthy, recalled the help sent to Ireland from France and Spain and America in other times and suggested that the Irish now send some of their surplus foods to Greece and the starving peoples of Europe generally.

The July 25 *Tablet* carries a feature article on "The Feeding of Europe." It says in part in support of this work: "The overriding consideration is that we are fighting this war to save Europe; by which we mean not buildings but people: the future generations."

CONTRIBUTORS

T. D. LYONS was born and raised in the Dakotas and now practices law in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where he was for many years a judge. He has handled a good many matters relating to Indians.

E. V. R. WYATT is the drama critic of the *Catholic World*, lectures, contributes articles and book reviews to many periodicals.

Tom BOGGS is himself a poet. His latest compilation, "An American Anthology," has just been published by The Decker Press, Prairie City, Ill.

SAMPLER is the pen-name of a constant COMMONWEAL book reviewer.

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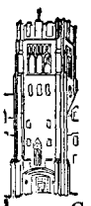

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